Woman's Journal
And Suffrage News

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Woman's Hour Strikes At Big National Convention

Delegates Pledge $818,000 of Million Dollar Fund to Back Reorganized Movement in Coming Year—Vote to Concentrate Behind Federal Amendment, to Systematize State Campaigns and to Continue Non-Partisan Methods

The tolling of the woman's hour vibrated through the great national suffrage convention in Atlantic City last week. At every meeting, in every conference, one note was predominant: "The opportunity is here."

The emergency convention drew up and supported a plan of reorganization that will revolutionize the movement and put it on a sounder, more efficient basis, and it backed this plan by pledging $818,000 of a million-dollar fund. It voted to continue working along both State and Federal lines in a non-partisan manner, but it put the Association's strength behind the nation-wide suffrage amendment as never before. It thrilled to a series of magnificent speeches, crowned by the masterpieces of Mrs. Catt, and Dr. Shaw. It welcomed as a working partner the President of the United States. Throughout the six days' sessions there was always a simple determination and a quiet assurance.

Three new officers were elected to the National Board: Mrs. Frank F. Shuler, of New York, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, of Kentucky, recording secretary; and Miss Heloise Meyer, of Massachusetts, first auditor.

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, formerly first auditor, was elected first vice-president.

The convention opened Wednesday morning when Mayor Bacharach, of Atlantic City, presented to Mrs. Catt a huge brass key, tied with gold and blue.

"In behalf of our city, I present you its key, and with it the key to our hearts," he said. He recommended the Boardwalk as a place where every suffragist would be unmolested. Mrs. Catt said it was the first time she had ever received a real key to any city.

The reports of officers and committees were then made.

Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, vice-president of the Association and chairman of the Congressional Committee, recommended in her report that the national headquarters be removed from New York to Washington. This proposal was later left to the discretion of the National Board.

Mrs. Roessing also advocated that the Congressional Committee be elected for two years instead of one, the new members taking office at the beginning of the session of Congress.

Warns Against Over-Confidence

Mrs. Roessing warned the women against over-confidence. "The Republican party has not promised us the Federal amendment," she said. "The personal indorsement of a candidate does not mean the promise of his party."

The three-cornered debate featured the afternoon session. Miss Laura Clay, of Kentucky, and Miss Kate Gordon, of Louisiana, led for State action; Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, of New York, and Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Massachusetts, followed with arguments for Federal action, and Mrs. Raymond Brown, of New York, and Miss Florence Allen, of Ohio, argued for the present policy of working along both lines.

The issue was never in doubt. The debate in a large measure centered around the question as to whether now was the psychological moment to drop the traditional policy of Federal and State action and concentrate on one or the other.

As Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch expressed it some States got into the voting place by windows, such as California, Colorado, Wyoming, etc., with Illinois half way in the window and with the others outside. Is the present the best time for those inside and those outside to move toward the front door and burst it open?

Emphasizes Federal Work

The convention voted practically unanimously to continue the present policy. Mrs. Catt then announced that she wished the question settled of whether

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Elected and Reelected

Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

THE NEW BOARD

President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York.

First Vice-President, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Columbia, Missouri.

Second Vice-President, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, New York City.

Third Vice-President, Miss Esther L. Ogden, Elizabeth, N. J.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, Richmond, Ky.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Frank Shuler, Buffalo, N. Y.

First Auditor, Miss Heloise Meyer, Lenox, Mass.

Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, New Haven, Ct.

Second Auditor, Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, Birmingham, Alabama.

Mrs. Walter McNabb Miller

Mrs. Frank Shuler

MRS. AXTELL WON IN WASHINGTON

Former Member of State Legislature Nominated by Democrats and Progressives

Mrs. Frances C. Axtell won the Democratic nomination for Congress in Washington in the primaries this week, according to early returns. Mrs. Axtell was a member of the Washington Legislature and ran on both the Democratic and Progressive tickets.

Mrs. Josephine Preston also won the nomination for State superintendent of schools.

MONTANA VOTERS SHOW INTEREST

Women of State Went to Polls Early — Had Studied Candidates Well

Unusual interest was shown in the Montana primaries by the women of the State, according to the Butte Miner. They went to the polls early, and their proportion of the votes cast was very large in some precincts.

Women's organizations were especially active in having the candidates appear before them and express their views on the political questions of interest at the present time.

OHIO DEMOCRATS ENDORSE PLANK

Senator Pomerene Supports Suffrage in State Platform, Announces Mrs. Upton

The Democratic State convention in Ohio endorsed a suffrage plank, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, president of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, announced in Atlantic City last week. Three months ago the Democratic State Committee had refused to take action.

The plank was supported by United Statee Senator Pomerene, who presided over the convention.

President Wilson Says He Will Fight for Suffrage

In Dramatic Setting at National Convention Chief Executive Pictures Growth of Women's Movement and Says There Will Be No Quarrel About Method —Declares, "I Have Come to Fight With You"

"I have come to fight with you!" Such was the message President Wilson brought to the national suffrage convention in Atlantic City Sept. 8. For the first time a President of the United States spoke as a suffragist to a suffrage meeting.

The scene in the New Nixon Theatre was absolutely without precedent in the annals of the movement. The air thrilled with the feeling that this was a historic occasion. From the moment when the President and Mrs. Wilson and their body-guard entered between two lines of suffragists until the time for his address the President sat an interested listener. When he spoke, it was with evident sincerity and sympathy.

The President did not touch the question of the method by which he would bring about woman suffrage, but said "we shall not quarrel in the long run as to the method of it."

When he concluded by saying that he had not come to ask suffragists to be patient but to congratulate them on the fact that there was a force behind them that would "beyond any peradventure be triumphant and for which you can afford a little while to wait," he emphasized the word "little."

When he had finished, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary pres-

ident of the Association, made a rousing speech, in which she told how women had waited in the past for enfranchisement.

"We have waited long enough to get the vote," she declared. "We want it now. I want it to come during your administration." The great audience stood and cheered, waving handkerchiefs.

The President's pledge of support caused Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to say in a short speech soon after: "You touched our hearts and won our fealty when you said you had come here to fight with us."

President Wilson's speech was as follows:

Madam President, ladies of the association: I have found it a real privilege to be here tonight and to listen to the addresses which you have heard. Though you may not all of you believe it, I would a great deal rather hear somebody else speak than speak myself, but I would feel that I was omitting a duty if I did not address you tonight and say some of the things that have been in my thoughts as I realized the approach of this evening and the duty that would fall upon me.

The astonishing thing about the movement which you represent is not that it has grown so slowly, but that it has grown so rapidly. No doubt, for those who have been a long time in the struggle, like your honored President, it seems a long and arduous path that has been trodden, but when you think of the cumulating force of this movement in recent decades, you must agree with me that it is one of the most astonishing tides in modern history.

Two generations ago—no doubt Madam President will agree with me in saying it—it was a handful of women who were fighting this cause. Now it is a great multitude of women who are fighting it. And there are some interesting historical connections which I would like to attempt to point out to you.

How Government Has Changed

One of the most striking facts about the history of the United States is that at the outset it was a lawyers' history. Almost all of the questions to which America addressed itself, say a hundred years ago, were legal questions; were questions of methods, not questions of what you were going to do with your government, but questions of how you were going to constitute your government; how you were going to balance the powers of the State and the Federal government; how you were going to balance the claims of property against the processes of liberty; how you were going to make your governments up so as to balance the parts against each other, so that the Legislature would check the Executive and the Executive the Legislature.

The idea of government when the United States became a nation was a mechanical conception of government, and the mechanical conception of government which underlays it was the Newtonian theory of the universe. If you pick up The Federalist some parts of it read like a treatise on government. They speak of the centrifugal and centripetal forces, and locate the President somewhere in a rotating system. And the whole thing is a calculation of power and adjustment of parts.

There was a time when nobody but a lawyer could know enough to run the government of the United States, and a distinguished English publicist remarked, speaking of the complexity of the American government, that it was no proof of the excellence of the American Constitution that it had been successfully operated, because the Americans could run any constitution. But there have been a great many technical difficulties in running it.

Woman Movement in Civil War

And then something happened. A great question arose in this country which, though complicated with legal elements, was at bottom a human question, and nothing but a question of humanity. That was the slavery question, and is it not significant that it was then, and then for the first time, that women became prominent in politics in America? Not many women. Those prominent in that day are so few that you can almost name them over in a brief catalogue; but, nevertheless, they then began to play a part in writing, not only, but in public speech, which was a very novel part for women to play in America; and after the Civil War had settled some of what seemed to be the most difficult legal questions of our system the life of the nation began not only to unfold, but to accumulate.

Life in the United States was a comparatively simple matter at the time of the Civil War. There was none of that underground struggle which is now so manifest to those who look only a little way beneath the surface. Stories such as Dr. Davis has told tonight were uncommon in those simpler days. The pressure of low wages, the agony of obscure and unremunerated toil did not exist in America in anything like the same proportions that they exist now. And as our life has unfolded and accumulated, as the contacts of it have become hot, as the populations have assembled in the cities, and the cool spaces of the country have been supplemented by feverish urban areas, the whole nature of our political questions have been altered.

They have ceased to be legal questions. They have more and more become social questions, questions with regard to the relations of human beings to one another—not merely their legal relations, but their moral and spiritual relations to one another.

Movement Has Come to Stay

And this has been most characteristic of American life in the last few decades, and as these questions have assumed greater and greater prominence, the movement which this Association represents has gathered cumulative force. So that, if anybody asks himself, "What does this gathering force mean?" if he knows anything about the history of the country, he knows that it means that something that has not only come to stay, but has come with conquering power.

I get a little impatient sometimes about the discussion of the channels and methods by which it is to prevail. It is going to prevail, and that is a very superficial and ignorant view of it which attributes it to mere social unrest. It is not merely because women are discontented. It is because the women have seen visions of duty, and that is something which we not only cannot resist, but, if we be true Americans, we do not wish to resist. Because America took its origin in visions of the human spirit, in aspirations for the deepest sort of liberty of the mind and of the heart, and as visions of that sort come up to the sight of those who are spiritually-minded in America, America comes more and more into her birthright and into the perfection of her development. So that what we have to realize is that in dealing with forces of this sort we are dealing with the substance of life itself.

Has Felt Contagion of Occasion

I have felt as I sat here tonight the wholesome contagion of the occasion. Almost every other time that I ever visited Atlantic City I came to fight somebody. I hardly know how to conduct myself when I have not come to fight anybody, but with somebody.

I have come to suggest among other things, that when the forces of nature are steadily working and the tide is rising to meet the moon, you need not be afraid that it will not come to its flood. We feel the tide; we rejoice in the strength of it, and we shall not quarrel in the long run as to the method of it. Because, when you are working with masses of men and organized bodies of opinion, you have got to carry the organized body along. The whole art and practice of government consists, not in moving individuals, but in moving masses.

It is all very well to run ahead and beckon, but, after all, you have got to wait for them to follow. I have not come to ask you to be patient, because you have been, but I have come to congratulate you that there was a force behind you that will, beyond any peradventure, be triumphant and for which you can afford a little while to wait.

The other speakers of the evening were Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the National Women's Trade Union League; Miss Julia Lathrop, of Chicago, chief of the federal children's bureau; Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, chief of the New York parole commission, and Dr. Owen Lovejoy, head of the Child Labor Committee.

Mrs. Robins and Dr. Davis both told harrowing stories of injustices and discriminations against women, and Mr. Lovejoy spoke of his belief that women should vote for the sake of children.

"The votes of women would undoubtedly be used to protect mothers," declared Miss Lathrop. "Whatever primarily concerns mothers must also concern everybody."

"What woman would allow another woman to dictate to her? She might allow a man to do so, but not a woman." This confession of faith is made by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

I never could see why any argument should be necessary to establish a simple act of justice like the enfranchisement of women.—E. H. Sothern.

The Housewarming

By Agnes Ryan

Enthusiastic visitors by scores and hundreds, new subscriptions running into the hundreds, a cash fund of more than $2,400, approval of the new move and a general understanding of the work aimed at, characterized the celebration by suffragists from all over the United States of the three-days' celebration of the opening of the new headquarters of The Woman's Journal at 45 Boutwell Street, Dorchester, the former home of Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell.

Those who in other days had visited the fine old mansion were delighted at the new bright look the whole place had taken on and at the same time they were gratified that none of the architectural attractiveness had been destroyed by alterations. Those who had never seen the estate before were surprised and impressed at its size and simple grandeur. Every one was glad that the Journal staff and plant are so well housed. Every one was glad that Journal workers now have room enough to do their work efficiently, glad of the large, airy, clean, handsome rooms where health and energy will be conserved, glad that the Journal has space in which to expand.

Monday and Wednesday were given over to inspecting the seventeen rooms and the grounds and to little conferences about plans for enrolling all suffragists as subscribers and ways in which suffragists can raise money for local work. Guests were greatly pleased with the big circulation room where one million cards with suffrage names and addresses and data can be housed. All were interested in the big room devoted to bookkeeping, advertising, subscription lists, tabulating and telephone; and the two rooms for stenographers and typewriters and letter files brought visitors in close touch with our work. Many visited the extensive literature files, the cupola, the summer house and the grape arbor. All commended the wisdom and foresight of the paper's founders. Light refreshments were served on both days.

Tuesday was a gala day. It included a welcome by Miss Blackwell, report of the National Suffrage Convention by Mrs. Lewis Jerome Johnson and Miss Blackwell, reminiscences by Mrs. Judith W. Smith and others; a poem read by Mrs. George Perry Morris; naming ten of the most important rooms for noted suffragists who had been intimately connected with the paper and its founders; dedicating the library of fifteen book cases with about two thousand volumes; and reading letters from Julia Ward Howe's daughters, Laura E. Richards and Florence Howe Hall, and from Francis J. Garrison. Greetings came from the president of Mount Holyoke College, William Dudley Foulke, Julia Lathrop, Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw and scores of others. Fully two hundred letters, which came as a result of the house warming, have not been read as the Journal goes to press.

The "ceremony of the States" had to be omitted for lack of time, but we earnestly hope that number of the program may be given to our readers either in the Journal columns later or by correspondence. We adjourned for refreshments and an informal reception in the Henry B. Blackwell room. The other nine rooms named were for Lucy Stone, William Lloyd Garrison, Julia Ward Howe, Dr. Emily Blackwell, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Catharine Breshkovsky, Mary A. Livermore and Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

The exercises were held on the lawn. Banners bearing the names of the ten persons for whom the rooms were named were raised from the cupola in view of the audience. Miss Agnes Ryan presided and short speeches were made by Mrs. George Blackwell, Mr. Howard Blackwell and Mr. Henry Bailey Stevens.

Among the States represented were California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas and Wisconsin.

The Woman's Journal wishes to thank particularly the following people, who helped make the house warming a success: Mrs. Norah Johnson Barbour, for furnishing Johnson Educator crackers for 500 people; Dr. Helen Scorgie, of Harvard, Mass., for helping to arrange the house; Mr. Moses Gulesian, for the loan of a car; Miss Daphne Dunbar, for door plates, and all suffragists who sent photographs, books, letters or gifts of money. The list of donations is as follows:

DONATIONS

Previously acknowledged	$506.62
Name.	Amount.
Emily H. Noyes	$10.00
William Dudley Foulke	10.00
Mrs. Nathan Anthony	5.00
Miss Ellen W. Gray	1.50
Margaret C. Slayton	10.00
C. F. Morse	3.00
Adelaide Underhill	10.00
Mrs. E. Y. Cohen	5.00
Bernette Bacheler	2.00
Mrs. H. D. Boyles and daughter Miss K. Boyles	10.00
Harriet L. Chase	10.00
Mrs. Mary E. Lapham	10.00
Mrs. James Klaba	10.00
Mrs. S. L. Powers	10.00
Annie E. Trumbull	10.00
Sarah J. Eddy	10.00
Mrs. Mary A. Webber	10.00
Mrs. A. S. Gitterman	1.00
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Edith Burrage	10.00
Emma B. Culbertson	10.00
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M. S. Catlin	10.00
J. P. Holland	2.00
Miss Gertrude Atkinson	5.00
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Sallie S. Belk	5.00
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Mr. J. E. Franch	10.00
Zilpha D. Smith	10.00
Mrs. Elisha S. Roland	10.00
Josiah Kirby	10.00
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Mary A. Davis	10.00
Mrs. Betsey L. Andrews	5.00
Jane W. Hobbs	10.00
Maud Young	5.00
Martin I. Brower	10.00

(To be continued)

"THE CRISIS"—MRS. CATT'S SPEECH

Address in Full of the National Woman Suffrage Association's President at the Convention in Atlantic City, September 7

I have taken for my subject, "The Crisis," because I believe that a crisis has come in our movement which, if recognized and the opportunity seized with vigor, enthusiasm and will, means the final victory of our great cause in the very near future. I am aware that some suffragists do not share this belief; they see no signs nor symptoms today which were not present yesterday; no manifestations in the year 1916 which differ significantly from those in the year 1910. To them, the movement has been a steady, normal growth from the beginning and must so continue until the end. I can only defend my claim with the plea that it is better to imagine a crisis where none exists than to fail to recognize one when it comes; for a crisis is a culmination of events which calls for new considerations and new decisions. A failure to answer the call may mean an opportunity lost, a possible victory postponed.

The object of the life of an organized movement is to secure its aim. Necessarily, it must obey the law of evolution and pass through the stages of agitation and education and finally through the stage of realization. As one has put it: "A new idea floats in the air over the heads of the people and for a long, indefinite period evades their understanding but, by and by, when through familiarity human vision grows clearer, it is caught out of the clouds and crystalized into law." Such a period comes to every movement and is its crisis. In my judgment, that crucial moment, bidding us to renewed consecration and redoubled activity has come to our cause. I believe our victory hangs within our grasp, inviting us to pluck it out of the clouds and establish it among the good things of the world.

If this be true, the time is past when we should say: "Men and women of America, look upon that wonderful idea up there; see, one day it will come down." Instead, the time has come to shout aloud in every city, village and hamlet, and in tones so clear and jubilant that they will reverberate from every mountain peak and echo from shore to shore: "The Woman's Hour Has Struck." Suppose suffragists as a whole do not believe a crisis has come and do not extend their hands to grasp the victory, what will happen? Why, we shall all continue to work and our cause will continue to hang, waiting for those who possess a clearer vision and more daring enterprise. On the other hand, suppose we reach out with united earnestness and determination to grasp our victory while it still hangs a bit too high? Has any harm been done? None!

Therefore, fellow suffragists, I invite your attention to the signs which point to a crisis and your consideration of plans for turning the crisis into victory.

Prophesies Change After War

FIRST: We are passing through a world crisis. All thinkers of every land tell us so; and that nothing after the great war will be as it was before. Those who profess to know, claim that 100 millions of dollars are being spent on the war every day and that 2 years of war have cost 50 billions of dollars or 10 times more than the total expense of the American Civil War. Our own country has sent 35 millions of dollars abroad for relief expenses.

Were there no other effects to come from the world's war, the transfer of such unthinkably vast sums of money from the usual avenues to those wholly abnormal, would give so severe a jolt to organized society that it would vibrate around the world and bring untold changes in its wake.

But three and a half millions of lives have been lost. The number becomes the more impressive when it is remembered that the entire population of the American Colonies was little more than three and one-half millions. Those losses have been the lives of men within the age of economic production. They have been taken abruptly from the normal business of the world and every human activity from that of the humblest, unskilled labor to art, science and literature has been weakened by their loss. Millions of other men will go to their homes, blind, crippled and incapacitated to do the work they once performed. The stability of human institutions has never before suffered so tremendous a shock. Great men are trying to think out the consequences but one and all proclaim that no imagination can find color or form bold enough to paint the picture of the world after the war. British and Russian, German and Austrian, French and Italian agree that it will lead to social and political revolution throughout the entire world. Whatever comes, they further agree that the war presages a total change in the status of women.

A simple-minded man in West Virginia, when addressed upon the subject of woman suffrage in that State, replied, "We've been so used to keepin' our women down, 'twould seem queer not to." He expressed what greater men feel but do not say. Had the wife of that man spoken in the same clear-thinking fashion, she would have said, "We women have been so used to being kept down that it would seem strange to get up. Nature intended women for 'door-mats.'" Had she so expressed herself, these two would have put the entire anti-suffrage argument in a nut-shell.

European Women Rising

In Europe, from the Polar Circle to the Aegean Sea, women have risen as though to answer that argument. Everywhere they have taken the places made vacant by men and in so doing, they have grown in self-respect and in the esteem of their respective nations. In every land, the people have reverted to the primitive division of labor and while the men have gone to war, women have cultivated the fields in order that the army and nation may be fed. No army can succeed and no nation can endure without food; those who supply it are a war power and a peace power.

Women by the thousands have knocked at the doors of munition factories and, in the name of patriotism, have begged for the right to serve their country there. Their services were accepted with hesitation but the experiment once made, won reluctant but universal praise. An official statement recently issued in Great Britain announced that 660,000 women were engaged in making munitions in that country alone. In a recent convention of munition workers, composed of men and women, a resolution was unanimously passed informing the government that they would forego vacations and holidays until the authorities announced that their munition supplies were sufficient for the needs of the war and Great Britain pronounced the act the highest patriotism. Lord Derby addressed such a meeting and said: "When the history of the war is written, I wonder to whom the greatest credit will be given; to the men who went to fight or to the women who are working in a way that many people hardly believed that it was possible for them to work." Lord Sydenham added his tribute. Said he: "It might fairly be claimed that women have helped to save thousands of lives and to change the entire aspect of the war. Wherever intelligence, care and close attention have been needed, women have distinguished themselves." A writer in the "London Times" of July 18, 1916, said: "But for women, the armies could not have held the field for a month; the national call to arms could not have been made or sustained; the country would have perished of inanition and disorganization. If, indeed, it be true that the people have been one, it is because the genius of women has been lavishly applied to the task of reinforcing and complementing the genius of men. The qualities of steady industry, adaptability, good judgment and concentration of mind which men do not readily associate with women have been conspicuous features."

On fields of battle, in regular and improvised hospitals, women have given tender and skilled care to the wounded and are credited with the restoration of life to many, many thousands. Their heroism and self-sacrifice have been frankly acknowledged by all the governments; but their endurance, their skill, the practicality of their service, seem for the first time, to have been recognized by governments as "war power." So, thinking in war terms, great men have suddenly discovered that women are "war assets." Indeed, Europe is realizing, as it never did before, that women are holding together the civilization for which men are fighting. A great search-light has been thrown upon the business of nation-building and it has been demonstrated in every European land that it is a partnership with equal, but different responsibilities resting upon the two partners.

To Be "Door-Mats" No Longer

It is not, however, in direct war work alone that the latent possibilities of women have been made manifest. In all the belligerent lands, women have found their way to high posts of administration where no women would have been trusted two years ago and the testimony is overwhelming that they have filled their posts with entire satisfaction to the authorities. They have dared to stand in pulpits (once too sacred to be touched by the unholy feet of a woman) and there, without protest, have appealed to the Father of All in behalf of their stricken lands. They have come out of the kitchen where there was too little to cook and have found a way to live by driving cabs, motors and street cars. Many a woman has turned her hungry children over to a neighbor and has gone forth to find food for both mothers and both families of children and has found it in strange places and occupations. Many a drawing-room has been closed and the maid who swept and dusted it is now cleaning streets that the health of the city may be conserved. Many a woman who never before slept in a bed of her own making, or ate food not prepared by paid labor, is now sole mistress of parlor and kitchen.

In all the warring countries, women are postmen, porters, railway conductors, ticket, switch and signal men. Conspicuous advertisements invite women to attend agricultural, milking and motor-car schools. They are employed as police in Great Britain and women detectives have recently been taken on the government staff. In Berlin, there are over 3,000 women street car conductors, and 35,000 women are employed on the general railways of Germany. In every city and country, women are doing work for which they would have been considered incompetent two years ago.

The war will soon end and the armies will return to their native lands. To many a family, the men will never come back. The husband who returns to many a wife will eat no bread the rest of his life save of her earning.

What, then, will happen after the war? Will the widows left with families to support cheerfully leave their well-paid posts for those commanding lower wages? Not without protest! Will the wives who now must support crippled husbands give up their skilled work and take up the occupations which were open to them before the war? Will they resignedly say: "The woman who has a healthy husband who can earn for her, has a right to tea and raisin cake, but the woman who earns for herself and a husband who has given his all to his country, must be content with butterless bread"? Not without protest! On the contrary, the economic axiom, denied and evaded for centuries, will be blazoned on every factory, counting house and shop: "Equal pay for equal work"; and common justice will slowly, but surely enforce that law. The European woman has risen. She may not realize it yet, but the woman "door-mat" in every land has unconsciously become a "door-jamb"! She will have become accustomed to her new dignity by the time the men come home. She will wonder how she ever could have been content lying across the threshold now that she discovers the upright jamb gives so much broader and more normal a vision of things. The men returning may find the new order a bit queer but everything else, too, will be strangely unfamiliar, and they will soon grow accustomed to all the changes together. The "jamb" will never descend into a "door-mat" again.

Sees Economic and Political Change

The male and female anti-suffragists of all lands will puff and blow at the economic change which will come to the women of Europe. They will declare it to be contrary to Nature and to God's plan and that somebody ought to do something about it. Suffragists will accept the change as the inevitable outcome of an unprecedented world's cataclysm over which no human agency had any control and will trust in God to adjust the altered circumstances to the eternal evolution of human society. They will remember that in the long run, all things work together for good, for progress and for human weal.

The economic change is bound to bring political liberty. From every land there comes the expressed belief that the war will be followed by a mighty, oncoming wave of democracy for it is now well known that the conflict has been one of governments, of kings and Czars, Kaisers and Emperors; not of peoples. The nations involved have nearly all declared that they are fighting to make an end of wars. New and higher ideals of governments and of the rights of the people under them, have grown enormously during the past two years. Another tide of political liberty, similar to that of 1848, but of a thousand fold greater momentum, is rising from battlefield and hospital, from camp and munitions factory, from home and church which, great men of many lands tell us, is destined to sweep over the world. On the continent, the women say, "It is certain that the vote will come to men and women after the war, perhaps not immediately but soon." In Great Britain, which was the storm centre of the suffrage movement for some years before the war, hundreds of bitter, active opponents have confessed their conversion on account of the war services of women. Already, three great provinces of Canada, Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan,

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Have Finished Big Year

Mrs. Frank M. Roessing (left) and Miss Hannah J. Patterson (right) concluded last week brilliant terms as first vice-president and corresponding secretary of the National Association

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL AND SUFFRAGE NEWS

FOUNDED BY

LUCY STONE and HENRY B. BLACKWELL

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women

Editor-in-Chief
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Contributing Editors

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Rabbi Stephen S. Wise
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SEPTEMBER 16, 1916

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

The 48th annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association broke all records. It was noteworthy for the clear and constructive policy adopted, for the unprecedented amount of money pledged, for the solid way in which the convention lined up behind Mrs. Catt, and for the general spirit of harmony. There were lively differences of opinion on some questions, but these were so wisely and tactfully handled as to reduce the jars to a minimum.

The convention voted overwhelmingly to make the chief and immediate object of its work the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment through Congress, while not neglecting the effort to add to the number of suffrage States. A fine and spirited debate was held over the question whether the Association should devote itself wholly to the Federal amendment, or wholly to State campaigns, or whether it should stick to its policy of working for suffrage "by appropriate national and State legislation." This three-cornered discussion was full and fervent, but courteous and good-natured throughout. Dr. Anna H. Shaw said afterward that she had listened to many discussions in Congress, in political conventions and in religious and reform organizations, but she had never heard a better debate. An illustration used by Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch in the course of it made a strong impression, and was often referred to afterward. She said, in substance:

"The government is like a great castle in which women want to find shelter from the rain. The men are inside. We have been besieging the front doors; but meanwhile some of the women have found a number of open windows in the side wall—windows named Wyoming, Colorado, etc.—and they have been climbing in. When enough have got in those doors can be forced open from the inside."

A new thing was the feeling in the convention that the goal was in sight. "The victory hangs within our grasp, only waiting for us to pluck it," said Mrs. Catt. In view of this crisis, the convention took several important steps to make the Association a more efficient fighting machine. It repealed the old rule that the National must do nothing in a State without the consent of the State officers. Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky said she understood this to mean that the National might come into a State if the State organization was inactive, but that the National would not be expected to do it if the State Association was attending to its work. Miss Clay and the Gordon sisters of New Orleans were the chief champions of the State's rights idea in the convention. They made their protest with clearness and force, but they were in a small minority. It was voted that States which were unwilling to work for the Federal amendment might remain in the Association without reproach of disloyalty, provided they did not actively work against it.

Action was also taken looking to a more judicious choice of the States that are to have campaigns. In the old days it was almost impossible to get any Legislature to submit a suffrage amendment to the State constitution. Many years would pass without a single campaign. Now Legislatures are doing it three and four at a time, and the National has had too many campaigns on its hands at once. Also, States have often asked for submission before they were well enough organized to have a fair chance of winning at the polls, and without the power to finance their campaigns, and they have expected the National to raise the money for them. It was voted that any State wishing to have an amendment submitted should first consult the National as to the wisdom of it. If the National advises against it, and the State nevertheless persists in doing it, that State must finance its own campaign without help from the National Board.

All through the convention was seen the masterly planning of a sagacious and statesmanlike leader, bringing everything in to order, getting rid of the must and mould of the past, building up the weak places, and making all taut and trim, like a ship about to go into battle.

The Association voted to stick to its non-partisan policy. Headed by Mrs. Raymond Robins and backed by a number of influential women, a strong effort was made to pass a resolution that suffragists should support no candidate for national office who did not uphold the Federal amendment; but it was voted down.

An unusually large number of women from the suffrage States were present. In the discussions it was clear that both the enfranchised and the unenfranchised women were divided in their choice of presidential candidates.

One of the most cheering features of the convention was the pledging of the great sum of $818,000 to carry on the work. This is by far the largest amount ever raised at a suffrage convention; and, for the first time, if Mrs. Catt's plan is carried out, the money will be secured in a systematic and scientific way.

A. S. B.

A REMARKABLE EVENING

The high-water mark of the convention was the night when President Wilson spoke. He had been given the choice of his own place on the evening's program, and he chose to speak last. This enabled him and Mrs. Wilson to hear four singularly strong and convincing pleas for equal suffrage: for the sake of the working women, by Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the National Women's Trade Union League; for the sake of mothers and children, by Julia C. Lathrop, chief of the Federal Children's Bureau; for the sake of public morals, by Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, head of the New York Parole Commission; and for the sake of the child toilers, by Dr. Owen Lovejoy, secretary of the National Child Labor Committee. Mr. Wilson listened with attention, and several times applauded.

The President's own speech was clear and dignified. He emphasized his belief in woman suffrage, and, like Mr. Hughes, declared that it was inevitable. He did not come out for the Federal amendment, as many over-sanguine women had hoped that he would; but he once more placed himself squarely and strongly on the side of votes for women. He made a favorable impression, and was very warmly received; but the warmth of the greeting should not blind him to the fact that the women who cheered him are entirely determined to have that Federal amendment.

There is an old Norse legend that once, long ago, when war was impending, Odin decreed that the victory should go to the side whose warriors arose to greet him earliest in the morning. The Norwegians were cast down by the news, for their fighting men had sailed on a long voyage, and they could not get word to them. Then the women disguised themselves as warriors. They cut off their long hair to make beards, and took weapons in their hands, and at the first peep of day they stood ranged in order of battle on the snow, ready to greet "Odin All-Father." Odin looked out of the window of heaven and saw, as he thought, ranks of "war-beasts full bearded." But Freya, standing beside him, told him what the women had done. Then Odin laughed with delight at the resourcefulness of the women, and declared that a nation which had such women was bound to win:

"Theirs is the victory;
No need of me!"

Many women felt it to be a great thing to have the President of the United States address the suffrage convention and look upon the cause from his high place with a friendly eye. In one sense it undoubtedly was a great thing. But some of us were reminded of the old story of Odin. After hearing the speeches of these able women, after seeing the wisdom of Mrs. Catt and the spirit and determination of the rank and file we realized that the victory was sure to be theirs, with the President of the United States or without him. A. S. B.

SAVING THE MOTHERS

One of the most interesting addresses given at the National Suffrage Convention was by Miss Julia C. Lathrop, head of the Federal Children's Bureau, on "Mothers in Politics." Her argument was, in brief, that women's votes are needed to stop great and needless waste of life in childbirth for want of proper care.

After paying a tribute to President Wilson, "who, by his sympathy, has given a stimulus to all the members of the Children's Bureau to do our best," she went on to say:

"In the Children's Bureau we have come to see the close connection between the welfare of mother and child. Because we are so concerned for the children, we asked a physician to take those vast, mysterious volumes of the census, and look up the facts about the mortality of mothers. Last year in the United States more than 15,000 women lost their lives in carrying on the life of the race. The death rate from other things, such as typhoid and diphtheria, has been cut in half; but between 1900 and 1913 maternal mortality was not lessened, but seemingly increased. Yet this waste of life is just as preventable. Medical science has shown that with proper care the dangers of childbirth can be made very small. Just as fast as women are allowed a voice in public affairs, it is their duty to see that no mother and child shall perish for lack of care. Every county should have a mother and child welfare centre.

"When a memorial was lately proposed for a woman who had died in the war, a well-known man said: 'We can enfranchise her sex, in tribute to the valor that she proved it possessed.' It is not too much to give suffrage to women, in tribute to the 15,000 women who are dying every year in this great duty and service. Yet we do not ask the ballot for women as a reward, but because, as soon as we see a duty and a service, we ought to do it.

"A distinguished publicist was displeased to have the Children's Bureau make this investigation. He said he had supposed that we were going after child labor, but not to fuss about mothers and children. The welfare of the race is bound up with that of mothers and children; and, in a very high and real sense, this nation might well dedicate itself to the mother and the child."

A. S. B.

MAINE AND MR. HUGHES

The outcome in Maine seems to show that Mr. Hughes's election chances have not been hurt by his advanced stand in regard to woman suffrage.

VOTES FOR SOLDIERS

Legislature after Legislature is holding a special session to give a vote to the militiamen who are away from home, and to provide some support for their families.

Almost every member of the National Guard now at the front has relatives at home who are voters—a father, an uncle, a brother or cousin, to say nothing of neighbors and friends. Yet nobody says: "What need has a militiaman of a vote? Let him use his indirect influence with his friends and relatives!" Neither does anyone bring forward the favorite anti-suffrage argument that the ballot is not a privilege but a burden. That sort of nonsense is reserved exclusively for women.

A. S. B.

The editor of The Woman's Journal heartily thanks the multitude of friends, near and far, who contributed to make the "house warming" so great a success. She only wishes that she could tell each one in person of her appreciation instead of being obliged to do it collectively.

WOMEN AND THE WAR

A number of representative women from different provinces of Canada lately attended the convention of the Dominion W. C. T. U., and considered "the advisability of linking together all the suffrage forces from the Atlantic to the Pacific." They have sent to suffragists throughout Canada a signed statement, saying in part:

"Perhaps it may seem to you that this is not a favorable time to prosecute franchise work; the great problem which confronts us all is the winning of the war, and it would be unfortunate to distract anyone from his patriotic duty.

"We realize this, but are also impressed with the fact that until we are given our full rights as citizens we shall be seriously handicapped in dealing with the many problems arising from the war."

The last sentence includes a profound truth, and one which the women of all nations should take to heart.

A CORRECTION

Last week a typographical error made the editor say: "The Federal Amendment has been asked of every Congress for the past 4 years." It should have said "for the past 40 years."

In the Iowa vote on woman suffrage, "The counties with German population gave large majorities against the proposition," says the Cedar Rapids Times; but on the other hand, Sioux County, where more than half the people are Holland Dutch, gave a big majority in favor. This shows that there are foreigners and foreigners.

"THE CRISIS"

(Continued from page 299)

have given universal suffrage to their women in sheer generous appreciation of their war work. Even Mr. Asquith, world renowned for his immovable opposition to the Parliamentary suffrage for British women, has given evidence of a change of view. Some months ago, he announced his amazement at the utterly unexpected skill, strength and resource developed by the women and his gratitude for their loyalty and devotion. Later, in reply to Mrs. Henry Fawcett, who asked if woman suffrage would be included in a proposed election bill, he said that when the war should end, such a measure should be considered without prejudice carried over from events prior to the war. A public statement issued by Mr. Asquith in August, was couched in such terms as to be interpreted by many as a pledge to include women in the next election bill.

British Fetters Breaking

In Great Britain a sordid appeal which may prove the last straw to break the opposition to woman suffrage, has been added to the enthusiastic appreciation of woman's patriotism and practical service and to the sudden comprehension that motherhood is a national asset which must be protected at any price. A new voters' list is contemplated. A parliamentary election should be held in September but the voters are scattered far and wide. The whole nation is agitated over the questions involved in making a new register. At the same time, there is a constant anxiety over war funds, as is prudent in a nation spending 50 millions of dollars per day. It has been proposed that a large poll tax be assessed upon the voters of the new lists, whereupon a secondary proposal of great force has been offered and that is, that twice as much money would find its way into the public coffers were women added to the voters' lists! What nation, with compliments fresh spoken concerning women's patriotism and efficiency could resist such an appeal?

So it happens that above the roar of cannon, the scream of shrapnel and the whirr of aeroplanes, one who listens may hear the cracking of the fetters which have long bound the European woman to outworn conventions. It has been a frightful price to pay but the fact remains that a womanhood, well started on the way to final emancipation, is destined to step forth from the war. It will be a bewildered, troubled and grief-stricken womanhood, with knotty problems of life to solve but it will be freer to deal with them than women have ever been before.

"The Woman's Hour Has Struck." It has struck for the women of Europe and for those of all the world. The significance of the changed status of European women has not been lost upon the men and women of our land; our own people are not so unlearned in history, nor so lacking in National pride that they will allow the Republic to lag long behind the Empire, presided over by the descendant of George the Third. If they possess the patriotism and the sense of nationality which should be the inheritance of an American, they will not wait until the war is ended but will boldly lead in the inevitable march of democracy, our own American specialty. Sisters, let me repeat: "The Woman's Hour Has Struck!"

Pioneers Egged

SECOND: As the most adamantine rock gives way under the constant dripping of water, so the opposition to woman suffrage in our own country has slowly disintegrated before the increasing strength of our movement. Turn backward the pages of our history! Behold, brave Abbie Kelley rotten-egged because, she, a woman, essayed to speak in public. Behold the Polish Ernestine Rose, startled that women of free America drew aside their skirts when she proposed that they should control their own property. Recall the saintly Lucretia Mott and the legal-minded Elizabeth Cady Stanton, turned out of the World's Temperance Convention in London and conspiring together to free their sex from the world's stupid oppressions. Remember the gentle, sweet-voiced Lucy Stone, egged because she publicly claimed that women had brains capable of education. Think upon Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, snubbed and boycotted by other women because she proposed to study medicine. Behold Dr. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, standing in sweet serenity before an assembly of howling clergymen, angry that she, a woman, dared to attend a Temperance Convention as a delegate. Revere the intrepid Susan B. Anthony mobbed from Buffalo to Albany because she demanded fair play for women. These are they who, with others, builded the foundation of political liberty for American women.

Those who came after only laid the stones in place. Yet, what a wearisome task even that has been! Think of the wonderful woman who has wandered from village to village, from city to city, for a generation compelling men and women to listen and to reflect by her matchless eloquence. Where in all the world's history has any movement among men produced so invincible an advocate as our own Dr. Anna Howard Shaw? Those whom she has led to the light are Legion. Think, too, of the consecration, the self-denial, the never-failing constancy of that other noble soul set in a frail, but unflinching body,—the heroine we know as Alice Stone Blackwell! A woman who never forgets, who detects the slightest flaw in the weapons of her adversary, who knows the most vulnerable spot in his armor, presides over The Woman's Journal, and, like a lamp in a lighthouse, the rays of her intelligence, far-sightedness and clear-thinking have enlightened the world concerning our cause. The names of hundreds of other brave souls spring to memory when we pause to review the long struggle.

The hands of many suffrage master-masons have long been stilled; the names of many who laid the stones have been forgotten. That does not matter. The main thing is that the edifice of woman's liberty nears completion. It is strong, indestructible. All honor to the thousands who have helped in the building.

"All Hands, Heave to"

The four corner-stones of the foundation were laid long years ago. We read upon the first: "We demand for women, education; for not a high school or college is open to her"; upon the second, "We demand for women religious liberty for in few churches is she permitted to pray or speak"; upon the third, "We demand for women the right to own property and an opportunity to earn an honest living. Only six, poorly-paid occupations are open to her and if she is married, the wages she earns are not hers"; upon the fourth, "We demand political freedom and its symbol, the vote."

The stones in the foundation have long been overgrown with the moss and mould of time and some there are who never knew they were laid. Of late, four capstones at the top have been set to match those in the base and we read upon the first: "The number of women who are graduated from high schools, colleges and universities is legion"; upon the second, "The Christian Endeavor, that mighty undenominational church militant, asks the vote for women and the Methodist Episcopal Church, and many another, joins that appeal"; upon the third, "Billions of dollars' worth of property are owned by women; more than 8 millions of women are wage earners. Every occupation is open to them"; upon the fourth, "Women vote in 12 States; they share in the determination of 91 electoral votes."

After the cap-stones and cornice comes the roof. Across the empty spaces, the roof-tree has been flung and fastened well in place. It is not made of stone but of two planks,—planks in the platforms of the two majority parties and these are well supported by planks in the platforms of all the minority parties.

And we, who are the builders of 1916, do we see no crisis? Standing upon these planks which are stretched across the top-most peak of this edifice of woman's liberty, what shall we do? Over our heads, up there in the clouds, but tantalizingly near, hangs the roof of our edifice,—the vote. What is our duty? Shall we spend time in admiring the cap-stones and cornice? Shall we lament the tragedies which accompanied the laying of the corner stones? Or, shall we, like the builders of old, chant, "Ho! all hands, all hands, heave to! All hands, heave to!" and while we chant, grasp the overhanging roof and with "a long pull, a strong pull and a pull all together," fix it in place for ever more?

Is the crisis real or imaginary? If it be real, it calls for action, bold, immediate and decisive.

Enemies Must Be Overcome

Let us then take measure of our strength. Our cause has won the endorsement of all political parties; every candidate for the presidency is a suffragist. It has won the endorsement of most churches; it has won the hearty approval of all great organizations of women. It has won the support of all reform movements; it has won the progressives of every variety. The majority of the press in most States is with us. Great men in every political party, church and movement are with us. The names of the greatest men and women of art, science, literature, philosophy, reform, religion and politics are on our lists.

We have not won the reactionaries of any party, church or society and we never will. From the beginning of things, there have been Antis. The Antis drove Moses out of Egypt; they crucified Christ, who said: "Love thy neighbor as thyself"; they have persecuted Jews in all parts of the world; they poisoned Socrates, the great philosopher; they cruelly persecuted Copernicus and Galileo, the first great scientists; they burned Giordano Bruno at the stake because he believed the world was round; they burned Savonarola who warred upon church corruption; they burned Enfame McIlyane because she used an anaesthetic; they burned Joan of Arc for a heretic; they have sent great men and women to Siberia to eat their hearts out in isolation; they burned in effigy Wm. Lloyd Garrison; they egged Abbie Kelly and Lucy Stone and mobbed Susan B. Anthony. Yet, in proportion to the enlightenment of their respective ages, these Antis were persons of intelligence and honest purpose. They were merely deaf to the call of Progress and were enraged because the world insisted upon moving on. Antis, male and female, there still are and will be to the end of time. Give to them a prayer of forgiveness for they know not what they do; and prepare for the onward march.

We have not won the ignorant and illiterate and we never can. They are too undeveloped mentally to understand that the institutions of today are not those of yesterday nor will be those of tomorrow.

We have not won the forces of evil and we never will. Evil has ever been timorous and suspicious of all change. It is an instinctive act of self-preservation which makes it fear and consequently oppose votes for women. As the Hon. Champ Clark said the other day: "Some good and intelligent people are opposed to woman suffrage; but all the ignorant and evil-minded are against it."

These three forces are the enemies of our cause.

Before the vote is won, there must and will be a gigantic final conflict between the forces of progress, righteousness and democracy and the forces of ignorance, evil and reaction. That struggle may be postponed but it cannot be evaded or avoided. There is no question as to which side will be the victor.

Movement Lacks Organization.

Shall we play the coward, then, and leave the hard knocks for our daughters or shall we throw ourselves into the fray, bare our own shoulders to the blows and thus bequeath to them a politically liberated womanhood? We have taken note of our gains and of our resources and they are all we could wish. Before the final struggle, we must take cognizance of our weakness. Are we prepared to grasp the victory? Alas, no! Our movement is like a great Niagara with a vast volume of water tumbling over its ledge but turning no wheel. Our organized machinery is set for the propagandistic stage and not for the seizure of victory. Our supporters are spreading the argument for our cause; they feel no sense of responsibility for the realization of our hopes. Our movement lacks cohesion, organization, unity and consequent momentum.

Behind us, in front of us, everywhere about us are suffragists,—millions of them, but inactive and silent. They have been "agitated and educated" and are with us in belief. There are thousands of women who have at one time or another been members of our organization but they have dropped out because to them, the movement seemed negative and pointless. Many have taken up other work whose results were more immediate. Philanthropy, charity, work for corrective laws of various kinds, temperance, relief for working women and numberless similar public services have called them. Others have turned to the pleasanter avenues of clubwork, art or literature.

There are thousands of other women who have never learned of the earlier struggles of our movement. They found doors of opportunity open to them on every side. They found well-paid posts awaiting the qualified woman and they have availed themselves of all these blessings; almost without exception they believe in the vote but they feel neither gratitude to those who opened the doors through which they have entered to economic liberty nor any sense of obligation to open political doors for those who come after.

There are still others who, timorously looking over their shoulders to see if any listeners be near, will tell us they hope we will win and win soon but they are too frightened of Mother Grundy to help. There are others too occupied with the small things of life to help. They say they could find time to vote but not to work for the vote. There are men, too, millions of them, waiting to be called. These men and women are our reserves. They are largely unorganized and untrained soldiers with little responsibility toward our movement. Yet these reserves must be mobilized. The final struggle needs their numbers and the momentum those numbers will bring. Were never another convert made, there are suffragists enough in this country, if combined, to make so irresistible a driving force that victory might be seized at once.

"The Woman's Hour Has Struck."

How can it be done? By a simple change of mental attitude. If you are to seize the victory, that change must take place in this hall, here and now!

The old belief, which has sustained suffragists in many an hour of discouragement, "woman suffrage is bound to come," must give way to the new, "The Woman's Hour Has Struck." The long drawn out struggle, the cruel hostility which, for years, was arrayed against our cause, have accustomed suffragists to the idea of indefinite postponement but eventual victory. The slogan of a movement sets its pace. The old one counseled patience; it said, there is plenty of time; it pardoned sloth and half-hearted effort. It set the pace of an educational campaign. The "Woman's Hour Has Struck" sets the pace of a crusade which will have its way. It says: "Awake, arise, my sisters, let your hearts be filled with joy,—the time of victory is here. Onward march."

If you believe with me that a crisis has come to our movement,—if you believe that the time for final action is now, if you catch the rosy tints of the coming day, what does it mean to you? Does it not give you a thrill of exaltation; does the blood not course more quickly through your veins; does it not bring a new sense of freedom, of joy and of determination? Is it not true that you, who wanted, a little time ago, to lay down the work because you were weary with long service, now, under the compelling influence of a changed mental attitude, are ready to go on until the vote is won. The change is one of spirit! Aye, and the spiritual effect upon you will come to others. Let me borrow an expression from Hon. John Finlay: what our great movement needs now is a "mobilization of spirit,"—the jubilant, glad spirit of victory. Then let us sound a bugle call here and now to the women of the nation: "The Woman's Hour Has Struck." Let the bugle sound from the suffrage headquarters of every State at the inauguration of a State campaign. Let the call go forth again and again and yet again. Let it be repeated in every article written, in every speech made, in every conversation held. Let the bugle blow again and yet again: The political emancipation of our sex call you women of America, arise! Are you content that others shall pay the price of your liberty?

Women in schools and counting houses, in shops and on the farm, women in the home with babes at their breasts and women engaged in public careers will hear. The veins of American women are not filled with milk and water. They are neither cowards nor slackers. They will come. They only await the bugle call to learn that the final battle is on.

Give heed at once to the organization of the reserves; and then to the work that they shall do. Organize in every Assembly District and every voting precinct. It is the only way to make our appeal invincible. Swell the army, then set it upon the trail of every legislator and congressman, for they alone hold the key to our political emancipation. Compel this army of lawmakers to see woman suffrage, to think woman suffrage, to talk woman suffrage every minute of every day until they heed our plea.

All this is mere preparedness for the final drive to victory. The next question is: what shall be our aim?

Aim at Federal Amendment.

We have listened to an exhaustive discussion upon the three-cornered questions: Shall we concentrate on the Federal Amendment; shall we concentrate on State Referenda or shall we proceed as before, supporting both methods. The Convention has voted to continue both forms of activity but there is one further point which should be made clear before we adjourn and that is the exact program to be followed in the support of the two methods. This should be so precisely defined by this convention that every member every friend and even every foe, may understand it.

We have long known the many obstacles imposed by most State Constitutions and that there are States in which women must wait a probable half century for their enfranchisement if no other avenue of escape is offered than amendment of their State constitutions. But there are other and even graver considerations which, in my judgment, should compel us to make the Federal Amendment our ultimate aim and work in the States a program of preparedness to win nation-wide suffrage by amendment of the National Constitution. I must say, in passing,

that this is no new opinion. I have held it for a quarter of a century and the varying suffrage events of the passing years have only served to strengthen and emphasize my conviction. To my mind, the insistence of the enfranchisement of the women of our land by Federal amendment, is the only self-respecting course to pursue. My reasons, I beg the privilege of presenting.

Recalls Early Campaign.

My first campaign was that in South Dakota in the year 1890. Because I was young and all the experiences were new, every event in that campaign stands out in my memory with a vividness which does not mark later and even more important events. My first point was Mitchell, where a two days' suffrage meeting was held prior to the State Republican Convention. Miss Anthony was the leader; Miss Shaw "the star," and the very best women of South Dakota were there. Of course, we wanted a plank in the Republican platform. The great concession was made the suffragists of ten seats on the platform where no one could see or be seen. I was fortunate enough to be one of the ten, and being young, I did not mind standing on a chair in order to see the convention. Peeping over the heads and shoulders of those before me, I saw a man arise and move that a delegation of Sioux Indians be admitted. They had been enfranchised by the National government and the delegate said, their votes must be won. They were admitted to the floor of the house,—three blanketed, long-haired, greasy men of the plains. On the platform sat Miss Anthony, bent with the weight of her seventy years, forty of which had been unceasingly expended to secure education, property rights and the vote for her sex. Upon her face was the expectancy born of "the hope which springs eternal in the human breast." On the floor sat the Indians unmoved and unknowing. The time came when five minutes was given the unenfranchised women, and Miss Shaw was called to speak for them. She has made many powerful addresses but never one quite so wonderful as that. All the men who packed that big skating-rink combined, could not have provided so soul-stirring an appeal for any cause, but it was a prophet whose soul was lighted by a vision of truth, speaking to a mob, who marvelled at the power of the speaker but did not comprehend her message. With the crowd, I passed out of the door stunned by the knowledge I had gained that Americans did not understand the principles of self-government. On either side stood a man handing out papers. They were men of the lowest type and the papers were "The Remonstrance," published by a few rich women in Boston who were, at that date, too timid to have their names printed on the document. What agent secured the men who, every person in the town knew, were henchmen of the local saloons, I never learned.

Progress Checked by Conspiracies

My last point in the State was Aberdeen and there on election day, I, with other women, served as watchers. All day long, at intervals, groups of five or ten Russians filed in to the order of poll workers. They, too, were saloon henchmen. These Russians could not speak English; they were totally illiterate and signed the poll-book with a cross. They had no more comprehension of the sacredness of a vote than a wild man from Borneo. The man who chiefly managed the affair and who must have voted a hundred men that day, grew bold and more than once paid his men their $2 in plain sight.

No king marshaling his army upon a battle-field could bear himself with more triumphant mien than did this political criminal whenever he entered that polling place with a new line of purchased voters. The hatred and contempt of his expression as he led them past us could not have been exceeded by an Apache chief gloating over his conquered foe. There was no remedy. South Dakota had no law to fit the case. These events at the time seemed mere local incidents, but I was to learn later that they were the early manifestation of a nation-wide condition which would remain constant in our campaigns until the end and that they were to grow into an increasingly better organized hostility to be met in every State.

Rich women, protected and serene, or women well paid by rich women, have grown bolder and more skilful in their unspeakable treachery to their sex. There have been those willing to villify their sister women from ocean to ocean and to declare them too incompetent mentally and too unclean morally to be trusted with the privilege of self-government. Their motives suffragists will never understand.

The liquor forces have developed an organized opposition, apparently supported by large funds, which has been an active factor in every campaign except two since 1890, and in those two we won. The Secretary of one of the State Liquor Associations recently said to a man of honor, that they would not allow another State to be carried for suffrage within the next ten years. Still another representative of the same force said to another man that they could gather 10 millions of dollars if necessary to throw into any State which gave indications of a suffrage victory. These are doubtless wild threats, but the fact remains that a powerful force is arrayed against our cause, and it scruples at nothing.

In every precinct, there seem to be a few men willing to sell their citizen's right and these may be numerous enough to become a balance of power which added to the normal conservative vote may defeat our amendments. This "triple alliance," the women who work in the open, appealing to the respectable conservative element and the liquor forces secretly conniving with the purchasable vote forms a combined foe very difficult to combat since its attack is subterranean.

Opposition in the open which meets our arguments with arguments, our claims with defense, must always be welcome. Truth has ever followed in the wake of free and honest discussion. But an opposition which conspires behind closed doors to buy its victory with money or spoils is a criminal so black, so indescribably hideous that it fills the soul, not with discouragement for our cause but with shame for our Republic. We shall never know how many campaigns have been lost by such conspiracies, but it is my own sincere conviction that there have been several.

Brewers Allied With Antis

We know that in the Colorado campaign, the brewers of Denver printed false statements and caused them to be put under the door of every house in the city. We know that in the last unsuccessful campaign in Oregon, the order went out from the liquor forces to the saloons of the State to deliver a stated number of votes in opposition to the suffrage amendment. Every suffragist in Michigan seems to agree that the amendment was counted out in the first campaign and that the ballots were stuffed in the second and that the agents were the liquor forces. The Attorney General who was serving at the time of the Nebraska campaign has declared that he believes the amendment was counted out there, and again, the charge lies at the same door. The wet counties in Iowa certainly defeated the amendment there. The Boston & Maine Railway contributed to defeat the suffrage question in the Constitutional Convention of New Hampshire and afterward it was found that it had been done in collusion with the liquor lobby. The brewers, arrested upon the Federal charge of conspiracy in elections and brought to trial in Pittsburgh this year, are supposed to have contributed large sums to defeat the question in the four Eastern campaign States and although this remains unproven, it is true that their business was conducted in so irregular a fashion that check books and stubs had been destroyed. It was true in New York that men visited trade unionists and told them that woman suffrage meant the certain loss of positions in all trades allied to the liquor business. It is true that in New Jersey the woman poll workers were appalled at the seemingly endless number of illiterate, drunken and degenerate types who were lined up to vote in opposition to the amendment in that State. It is true that the four men representing Texas, Indiana, Georgia and New Jersey respectively, who signed the minority report of the Resolutions Committee in St. Louis, which would have taken the suffrage plank out of the Democratic platform are all well-known henchmen of the liquor interests. It is well-known that a group of liquor men have issued newspaper plate matter under the imprint of an alleged Farmers' Association and have sent it broadcast to rural papers, its contents purporting to be of interest to farmers but always containing anti-suffrage articles.

The liquor interests have been driven to the aggressive defensive by the inroads of the prohibition movement. They are obsessed by the idea that woman suffrage is only a flank prohibition movement. They have the American's right to fight for their own. We cannot relieve them of their notion that woman suffrage will promote prohibition and hence must accept their opposition as normal. But when that opposition ceases to be honest and resorts to conspiracy and bribery to gain its ends, it becomes criminal.

Since this kind of opposition has occurred to a greater or less extent in all our campaigns, suffragists must be prepared to meet it in future. What, if any, underground connection there may be between the women antis and the liquor antis no one knows. Some of the women are conscientious and honest, I am sure, but the obvious fact remains that these women secure what they want, that is their own disfranchisement by the aid and the evident conjunction of the liquor forces with the purchasable, controllable vote and in several campaigns, their posters, their literature and buttons were circulated through saloons. This may have been done without the knowledge or consent of the women, but the fact remains that the saloons and the women antis agree that votes in the hands of women are a "menace."

No Redress for Corruption

Corruption has existed since the beginning of things and will continue so long as there are dishonest men to tempt and weak ones to yield. It is a far more invidious foe to our country's weal than the bugaboos of wars with Germany, Mexico or Japan. A French philosopher said that "The corruption of each form of government commences with the decay of its principles." History proves that statement to be true and in our own land, the careful student should feel genuine anxiety at the ignorance and indifference among our people concerning those truths we have called "American principles."

It is through the departure from loyalty to those principles that corruption has crept into our political life and it is through the weakness created by internal corruption that most of the great dead nations have met their downfall.

If the suffrage amendments are defeated by illegal practices, why not demand redress, asks the novice in suffrage campaigns. Ah, there's the rub. In 25 States no provision has been made by the election law for any form of contest or recount on a referendum. Political corrupters may, in these States, bribe voters, colonize voters and repeat them to their hearts' content and redress of any kind is practically impossible. If clear evidence of fraud could be produced, a case might be brought to the courts and the guilty parties might be punished but the election would stand. In New York, in 1915, the question was submitted to the voters as to whether there should be a constitutional convention. The convention was ordered by a majority of over 1,300. It was estimated that about 800 fraudulent votes were cast. Leading lawyers discussed the question of effect upon the election and the general opinion was that even though the entire majority and more was found to be fraudulent, the election could not be set aside. The convention was held.

In twenty States, contests on referenda seem possible under the law, but in practically every one the contest means a resort to the courts and in only eight of these is reference made to a recount. The law is vague and incomplete in nearly all of these States. In some of these, including Michigan where the suffrage amendment is declared to have been counted out, application for a recount must be made in each voting precinct. To have secured redress in Michigan, provided the fraud was widespread, as I understand it was, it would have been necessary to have secured definite evidence of fraud in a probable 1,000 precincts and to have instituted as many cases.

In some States, the Courts decide what the redress shall be and in these, no assurance is given by the law that such redress would include a correction of the returns. In at least seven, the applicants must pay all costs if they fail to prove their case.

Illiterates Bribed

The penalties for bribery range from $5 to $2,000 and from 30 days to 10 years, but only one State (Ohio) provides in terms for punishment of bribery as part of the penalty in an election contest. Just as proof of bribery does not throw out the person's vote, so the other way about, the throwing out of the purchased votes in contest cases does not bring with it automatically punishment of the purchased voter. If we may judge from this omission from the contest provisions these bribery cases could be separate actions. Twenty-one States in clear terms disfranchise (or give the Legislature power to disfranchise) bribers and bribed, but few make provision for the method of actually enforcing the law and upon inquiry, the Secretary of State of many of these States reported that so far as he knew, no man had ever been disfranchised for this offense. This was true of States which have been notorious for political corruption.

With a vague, uncertain law to define their punishment in most States and no law at all in 25 States, as a preliminary security, corrupt opponents of a woman suffrage amendment find many additional aids to their nefarious acts. A briber must make sure that the bribed carries out his part of the contract. Whenever it is easy to check up the results of the bribe, corruption may reign supreme and with little risk of being found out. A study of some of the recent suffrage votes results in significant food for reflection. In Wisconsin, the suffrage ballot was separate and pink. It was easy to teach the most illiterate how to vote "No" and to check up returns with considerable accuracy. In New York, there were three ballots. The official ballot had emblems which easily distinguished it. The other two were exactly alike in shape, size and color and each contained three propositions, those which came from the constitutional convention and the other those which came from the Legislature. The orders went forth to vote down the Constitutional provisions and it was done by a majority of 482,000, or nearly 300,000 more than the majority against woman suffrage. On the ballot containing the suffrage amendment which was No. 1, there was proposition No. 3, which all the political parties wanted carried. It could easily be found by all illiterate as it contained more lines of printing, yet so difficult was it to teach ignorant men to vote "no" on suffrage and "yes" on No. 3 that, despite the fact that orders had gone forth to all the State that No. 3 was to be carried, it barely squeezed through.

In Pennsylvania there are no emblems to distinguish the tickets and on the large ballot, the suffrage amendment would have been difficult to find by an untutored voter. In consequence, as I believe, Pennsylvania polled the largest proportional vote for the amendment of any Eastern State. In Massachusetts, the ballot was small and the suffrage amendment could be easily picked out by a bribed illiterate. In Iowa, the suffrage ballot was separate and yellow, while the main ballots were white. In consequence, there were 35,000 more votes cast on the suffrage proposition than for the nomination of Governor, although the contest was an excited one. In North Dakota, the regular ballot was long and complicated and the suffrage ballot separate and small. It was easy to teach the dullest illiterate how to vote "No." It might be said that it would be equally easy to teach him to vote "Yes." True, but suffragists never bribe. Both the briber and the illiterate are allies of the Antis.

Party Machine a Safeguard

The election boards are bi-partisan and each party has its own machinery, not only of election officials but watchers and challengers, to see that the opposing party commits no fraud. The watchfulness of this party machinery, plus an increasingly vigilant public opinion, has corrected many of the election frauds which were once common, and many elections are probably free from all the baser forms of corruption.

When a question on referendum is sincerely espoused by both the dominant parties, it has the advantage of the watchfulness of both party machines and is doubly safe-guarded from fraud. But when such a question has been espoused by no dominant party, it is utterly at the mercy of the worst forms of corruption. The election officers may even agree to wink at fraud even when plainly committed, since it is no affair of theirs. Or, they may even go further and join in the pleasing game of running in as many votes against such an amendment as possible. This has not infrequently been the unhappy experience of suffrage amendments in corrupt quarters. With no one on the election board whose especial business it is to see that honesty is upheld, a suffrage amendment suffers further disaster through the fact that most States do not permit women watchers to stand guard over their own question.

When it is remembered that immigrants may be naturalized after a residence of five years; that, when naturalized they automatically become voters by all our State constitutions; that in nine States, immigrant voters are not even required to be citizens; that the right to vote is limited by an educational qualification in only 17 States and that nine of these are Southern with special intent of disfranchising the negro; that there is an unscrupulous body ready to engage the lowest elements of our population by fraudulent processes to oppose our amendment; that there is no authority on the election board whose business it is to see that we get a square deal; that the method of preparing the ballot is often an advantage to the enemy; that after the fraud is committed, there is practically no redress provided by election laws, it ought to be clear to all that State constitutional amendments when unsponsored by the dominant political parties which control the election machinery, must run the gauntlet of exceedingly unfair conditions. When suffragists have been fortunate enough to overcome the obstacles imposed by the Constitution of their States, they immediately enter upon the task of surmounting the infinitely greater hazards of the election law.

We are justly proud of the nine States which have been won on a referendum but these are not greater monuments to the triumphs of our cause than to the integrity of the elections in those States. I am certain that at least five other States should stand in that list. That they are not there is a reflection upon the inefficiency of the election machinery of those States.

No careful observer of the modern trend of human affairs doubts that "governments of the people" are destined to replace the monarchies of the world. No "listener in" will fail to hear the rumble of the rising tide of democracy. No watcher of events will deny that the women of all civilized lands will be enfranchised as part of "the people" and no American possessed of the least political acumen, doubts woman suffrage in our land as a coming fact.

Indians, Negroes and Immigrants Vote

Bear these items in mind and remember that three-fourths of the men of our nation have received the vote as the direct or indirect gift of the Naturalization laws; that the federal government enfranchised the Indians, assuming its authority upon the ground that they are wards of the nation; that the negroes were enfranchised by federal amendment; that the Constitutions of all States not in the list of the original thirteen, automatically extended the vote to men; that in the original colonial territory, the chief struggle occurred over the elimination of the land-owning qualification and that a total vote necessary to give the franchise to non-landowners, did not exceed 50 or 75 thousand in any State.

Let us not forget that the vote is the free-will offering of our 48 States to any man who chooses to make this land his home. Let us not overlook the fact every five years of late an average of one million immigrant voters are added to our electors' lists,—a million men mainly uneducated and all moulded by European

traditions. To these men, women of American birth, education and ideals must appeal for their enfranchisement. No humiliation could be more complete; unless we add the sorrowful fact that leaders of Americanism in Congress and Legislatures are willing to drive their wives and daughters to beg the consent of these men to their political liberty.

Let us return to South Dakota a moment. During the Civil War there was an uprising of the Sioux Indians who occupied a reservation covering a large part of the territory now comprising that State. These Indians instituted one of the cruelest and most savage massacres in our history. They committed atrocities upon women, so indescribably indecent that they were never recorded in ordinary history.

By 1890, the numerous efforts to win them to civilization had culminated in an offer of land in severalty and if accepted in good faith, these land owners were promised the vote. Their blanketed representatives sat in the Republican Convention of that year and took their first lesson in American politics. In 1916, I am reliably informed that there are 5,000 Sioux voters in the State of South Dakota and that they may prove the balance of power in November to decide whether women who have borne the burdens of pioneer life shall be permitted the vote. How much the schools have taught them of human liberty within the last quarter of a century, I do not know but I opine that they will make congenial allies to the antis.

To my mind, the considerations aroused by such facts entirely outweigh any philosophy which supports the theory of suffrage by "State rights."

Again, let us not forget that while our struggle continues in this supposedly democratic land, women have been enfranchised within a year in three provinces of Canada nearly equal in extent to all our territory east of the Mississippi; in Denmark and Iceland by majority vote of their respective Parliaments. All signs indicate the early enfranchisement of the women of Great Britain by the same process.

American Women Humiliated.

Why, then, should American women be content to beg the vote on bended knee from man to man, when no American male voter has been compelled to pay this price for his vote and no woman of other countries is subjected to this humiliation? Shall a Republic be less generous with its womanhood than an Empire? Shall the government be less liberal with its daughters than with its sons?

The makers of the constitution foresaw the necessity of referring important questions of State to a more intelligent body than the masses of the people and so provided for the amendment of the Constitution by referendum to the Legislatures of the various States. Why should we hesitate to avail ourselves of the privileges thus created. We represent one land and one people. We have the same institutions, customs and ideals. It is the advocates of State rights who are championing national prohibition and child labor. It will be a curious kind of logic that can uphold these measures as national and, at the same time relegate woman suffrage to the States. Our cause has been caught in a snarl of constitutional obstructions and inadequate election laws. We have a right to appeal to our Congress to extricate our cause from this tangle. If there is any chivalry left, this is the time for it to come forward and do an act of simple justice.

In my judgment, the women of this land, not only have the right to sit on the steps of Congress until it acts but it is their self-respecting duty to insist upon their enfranchisement by that route.

Federal Action Not a Short Cut.

But, let me implore you, sister women, not to imagine a Federal Amendment an easy process of enfranchisement. There is no quick, short cut to our liberty. The Federal Amendment means a simultaneous campaign in 48 States. It demands organization in every precinct; activity, agitation, education in every corner. It means an appeal to the voters only little less general than is required in a referendum. Nothing less than this nation-wide, vigilant, unceasing campaigning will win the ratification.

Do not allow my comments to discourage you who represent the States where campaigns are pending. Your campaign may win the promise to safeguard your election from the dominant parties. It may so arouse public sentiment that any fraud may be outvoted. You are doing the best work possible. If you win, you have made Federal action and ratification more certain. If you lose, you have organized an army ready for your ratification campaign and have added testimony to the need of Federal action. What you have done in your State must be done in every State. A few women here and there have dropped out from State work in the fond delusion that there is no need of work if the Federal amendment is to be the aim. I hold such women to be more dangerous enemies of our cause than the known opponent. State work alone can carry the amendment through Congress and through the ratifications. There must be no shirkers, no cowards, no backsliders these coming months. The army in every State must grow larger and larger. The activity must grow livelier and even more lively. The reserves must be aroused and set to work. Let no one labor under the delusion that suffrage can be won in any other way than by the education and organization of the constituencies. Let no woman think the vote will be handed her some bright summer morning "on a golden platter at the foot of a rainbow."

"The Woman's Hour Has Struck." Yet, if the call goes unheeded, if our women think it means the vote without a struggle, if they think other women can and will pay the price of their emancipation, the hour may pass and our political liberty may not be won.

WOMEN ARISE: DEMAND THE VOTE! The character of a man is measured, it is said, by his will. The same is true of a movement. Then, WILL to be free. Demand the vote. Women, ARISE!

NEED BALLOT TO CONTROL TRAFFIC

Automobiles Kill Thirty New York Children, While Mothers Have No Protecting Voice

Nineteen children under 16 years of age were killed by automobiles in the streets of New York City in the month of July, according to the report of the National Highways Protective Society. Throughout New York State perhaps as many more were killed. Laws governing vehicular traffic come very near the home—certainly near the homes of the mothers of those 30 or more children under 16 who were slain in the streets. Perhaps mothers might like a vote for the men who are to pass on such laws.

BOTH CANDIDATES GAINING SUPPORT

Republican Women to Manage Western Campaign Train—Noted Women for Wilson

Almost every day the newspapers report the adherence of prominent American women to President Wilson or Mr. Hughes. Early in October a campaign train "manned" and financed entirely by women will tour the West for Candidate Hughes. Miss Harriet E. Vittum of Chicago has been appointed to take full charge of the women's work for the Republican National Committee in the twelve suffrage States.

Among the women who declared last week for President Wilson were Mrs. Antoinette Funk and Mrs. Ella Flagg Young of Illinois, Ida M. Tarbell and Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, the California suffragist.

LIQUOR FACTION FAILS IN OBJECT

Connecticut Federation of Labor Endorses Suffrage 72-58, in Spite of Bartenders

The Connecticut Federation of Labor at its annual convention in Hartford last week reaffirmed its belief in the principle of woman suffrage by a roll call vote of 72 to 58. The vote was preceded by a spirited debate in which the opposition was led by the delegates of the Bartenders' Union and the Brewers' Union. The Federation had endorsed woman suffrage at its convention last year, and when the resolution was taken up for debate on Sept. 7, even some of the friends of woman suffrage, knowing that a strong opposition was likely to develop, thought that it might be better to table the motion. A motion to do so was, however, defeated, and it was then voted that only accredited delegates should be allowed to speak. Miss Emily Pierson, Miss Catherine Flanagan, Dr. Valeria Parker and Miss Abbie O'Connor, who were present, were therefore only interested auditors of the debate. The debate was long and spirited, and many votes went to the opposition out of a feeling that labor men must stand by their "brothers who were of the Federation."

The first speaker in opposition was Delegate Madden of the Hartford Bartenders' Union. Mr. Madden and his colleagues frankly based their opposition on the ground that woman suffrage would injure their business. He claimed that in the States where women vote men of the Bartenders' Union had been thrown out of work, and that woman suffrage would work injury to every branch of the liquor trade.

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A Play?

Mrs. Reed's propaganda play JONATHAN'S NIGHT-SHIRT is a pleasing bit of satire which can make money for any suffrage league. Twenty-five cents a copy, set of five for production, one dollar. Royalty for each performance, five dollars.

ANSWERS TO ANTIS?

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NEW YORK LABOR WILL CO-OPERATE

State Federation Urges Delegates to Work for Suffrage Amendment in Every Way

At the 53rd annual convention of the State Federation of Labor at Glens Falls, New York, on Aug. 24, woman suffrage in general, and the Industrial Section of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party in particular, were endorsed as follows:

"The committee endorses woman suffrage and recommends that the delegates in attendance endeavor to secure the adoption of a woman suffrage amendment and also to advise the central bodies to co-operate with the industrial section of the Woman's Suffrage organization of the State of New York."

The New York State Association of Electrical Workers and the Blue Label League of New York State (the cigar makers' union) have also endorsed votes for women within the last few days.

VERMONT

At the annual meeting of the Vermont Equal Suffrage Association, held at St. Albans on Aug. 30, the following officers were elected:

Honorary president, Mrs. Julia A. Pierce of Rochester; president, Dr. Grace Sherwood of St. Albans; vice-president, first Congressional district, Mrs. H. S. Howard of Burlington; vice-president, second Congressional district, Mrs. W. L. Bryant of Springfield; treasurer, Mrs. Lucia Blanchard of Montpelier; recording secretary, Miss Joanna D. Croft of Burlington; corresponding secretary, Miss Emilia Houghton; auditor, Mrs. Frances P. Wyman of Manchester Center.

At the session on Aug. 31 plans were made for a State campaign this winter. It was decided to put an organizer in the field, and a special committee on finance was appointed.

CONNECTICUT

The C. W. S. A. is planning to hold a second parade next Tuesday. This time the parade is for the Democratic State convention which assembles at New Haven Sept. 19. The parade will start at 7 P. M. and will take the same line of march as that of Sept. 5. Paper lanterns decorated in the State suffrage colors will be the feature of this parade, and it is expected that there will be many more in line than in the previous parade. The late hour will permit working women in all kinds of occupations—women who were unable to be in line by 5 o'clock—to be among the marchers.

Among the remarkable meetings which have been held recently in Connecticut was one held at the beautiful home of Miss Botsford at Greenfield Hill, at which Professor Seager was the principal speaker. The meeting was arranged by Mrs. George Waldo of Fairfield, who is the town leader, with the help of Mrs. Samuel Wheeler, president of the Fairfield Equal Franchise League. There were over 500 people present, and the meeting was preceded by a demonstration in which 125 automobiles took part.

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A NEW DEPARTURE

In line with the tendency toward standardizing and unifying all the available power of the suffrage movement an announcement was made at the national convention last Saturday by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt that proposals were pending for the amalgamation of as many as possible of the suffrage papers of the country into one strong, well-supported journal. This new journal, she suggested, would be directed by a commission, headed by Mrs. Catt and Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, both of whom would appoint the other members. The coalition would include The Woman's Journal, the Headquarters News Letter and as many other suffrage publications as possible. The plan has been approved by the directors of The Woman's Journal. Although the matter has not yet been fully arranged and may possibly not go through, the consolidation is likely to take place about Jan. 1, 1917.

Nothing more definite can be announced in less than a month. In the meantime, every effort to strengthen The Woman's Journal, whether by subscriptions or donations, means the strengthening of the new paper.

Mrs. Catt has magnificent and far-reaching plans for bringing the suffrage movement to the very top notch of efficiency. The Woman's Journal is a valuable property now and will be a strong factor in the merger. Three months remain in which to strengthen the paper so that the commission will have the maximum power with which to start. Let us do our best in the knowledge that our best can put a powerful machine back of the suffrage movement. A million dollars have been pledged. What about a journal with a million circulation?

Woman's Hour Strikes At Big National Convention

(Continued from page 297)

the federal amendment was not the immediate and principal aim of the Association and whether all State campaigns were not preparatory to that end. This emphasis on Federal work was definitely established later by the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the forty-eighth annual convention of the N. A. W. S. A. instruct its Congressional Committee to concentrate all its resources upon a determined effort to carry the Federal amendment through the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress. It pledges the support of the State organizations, and authorizes the National board to take such direction of the work in the States as may be necessary in its judgment to accomplish this.

Officers to Serve Two Years

When proposed amendments came up on the morning of Sept. 7, the term of office for the officers of the Association was changed from one year to two years. The amendment reads: "Each of such officers shall serve for the term of two years, beginning immediately upon the close of each alternate convention." The next convention will be held in March or thereabouts, and officers will serve for two years, the length of each Congress.

There was much discussion concerning the Association's organization as to the definition of an affiliated member, an associate member, a co-operating member, and a life member; and the four amendments dealing with these questions were referred to a committee of five, to be appointed by Mrs. Catt for consideration. They will be taken up at the next convention for final decision.

Dr. Anna Shaw was elected honorary president for life.

The convention changed the constitution so as to bar from

Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers

membership all organizations not in harmony with the policy and constitution of the Association.

That afternoon, after the difficulties in the manner of amending State constitutions had been explained, Mrs. Catt made her address as president, "The Crisis," which will be found on other pages.

The primaries on Friday, at which voting machines were introduced, resulted in a unanimous vote for the officers named above.

A resolution was passed, introduced by Mrs. Katherine Reed Balentine, of Portland, Me., daughter of former Speaker "Tom" Reed, that a committee of women to work in the enfranchised States be appointed by the president.

The morning was largely spent in discussion of the policy of the Association in the political campaign. Mrs. Raymond Robins presented a resolution signed by fifteen other prominent suffragists to the effect that the Association should support for national office only those who supported the Susan B. Anthony amendment. The feeling was constantly expressed during the debate that the resolution would be construed as a partisan one. It was defeated and the question of opposing candidates who opposed suffrage was left to the discretion of the Congressional Committee.

The new flag from Pennsylvania was presented to the Association by Mrs. J. O. Miller, of Pittsburgh.

Mrs. Miller recalled the fact that Pennsylvania was the home of Betsy Ross, the maker of the first American flag, and that it was in the Keystone State that the Declaration of Independence was signed. In conclusion she said: "May this flag continue to wave until humanity's hour has struck."

New Platform

The new platform which puts the Association's work on a new basis was adopted as follows:

Platform 1.

(In support of the Federal amendment.)

The National Board shall continue to conduct a campaign in support of the Federal amendment.

It shall continue a lobby in

Mrs. Stanley McCormick

Washington until the Federal amendment shall be submitted.

It is left to the National Board to decide whether it shall remove the headquarters to Washington and maintain it there until such time as the Federal amendment is submitted.

It shall conduct a nation-wide campaign of education, agitation, organization and publicity in support of the Federal amendment.

The nation-wide campaign shall include the following: A million-dollar campaign fund for the campaign from Oct. 1, 1916, to Oct. 1, 1917; a monthly propaganda demonstration to be simultaneously conducted throughout the nation; at least four campaign directors and 200 organizers in the field and a vigorous, thorough organization in every State; a national scheme for education through literature; national suffrage schools; a speakers' bureau; innumerable activities for agitation and publicity; a national press bureau with a department in each State; a national publicity council with a department in each State; a national committee on non-English propaganda.

Platform 2.

(In support of State campaigns, the National Board taking a positive part.)

A council of the representatives of States shall meet in executive session in connection with each annual convention to hear reports on the status of each campaign State and to fix upon States which shall be recommended to go forward with campaigns.

No State Association shall ask the Legislature of its State for the submission of a State constitutional amendment or for the submission of the question by the initiative or referendum until the National Board or executive council has been given the opportunity to investigate conditions and give consent. Any State which proceeds to a referendum campaign without securing this consent shall be prepared to finance its own campaign without help from the National Board. Any State which has secured the consent of the National Board to proceed with the campaign shall have the co-operation of the National Board to the fullest extent of its powers.

As soon as possible experienced campaign managers shall be trained for the work and shall be supplied to a campaign State to work under direction of the National Board in co-operation with the State Board.

States willing to contribute to campaigns in other States should do so by the advice of the National Board, who should be informed of conditions, and the money so contributed should be passed through the national treasury.

The rule that the National Board shall do nothing in States without the consent of the States shall be repealed.

The organization, press work, literature distribution and general activity of the States shall be standardized.

Regular reports on all of these departments shall be made to the National Board in order that advice and help may be rendered when most needed.

The National Board shall have the authority to nationalize the suffrage movement by unifying the work as far as is possible.

Any States not desiring to work for the Federal amendment may remain members of the National Association, provided they do not work against the Federal amendment.

Twenty minutes before the close of the afternoon's session Mrs. Catt announced that there was a "little business" which needed to be done. It was the pledging of a million-dollar fund for the next year's work. With Miss Mary Garrett Hay in charge,

Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs

over $818,000 was pledged in the twenty minutes. New York started the ball rolling with a pledge of $225,000. Pennsylvania followed with $125,000 and Massachusetts with $60,000. It was a record twenty minutes and constituted the largest fund ever raised at a suffrage meeting. In most cases ten per cent. of the pledges were to go to the National Association.

Notice of a proposed change in the name of the National Association was given on Saturday by M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr college. New York, Detroit, Little Rock, Ark., St. Louis, Dallas, Tex., Terre Haute, Ind., Chicago and Providence, R. I., want the next convention, which will be held in March, 1917. The national board will select the city.

Among the resolutions adopted was one declaring that the most significant result of the recent work of the Association is that every political party has put woman suffrage in its platform and that every presidential candidate has expressed himself in favor of it.

One of the resolutions accompanying the declaration of principles, all of which were adopted, felicitates the suffragists "that for the first time a president of the United States has publicly declared his belief in woman suffrage."

Other resolutions urged upon the Democratic and Republican parties that, inasmuch as their platforms indorse suffrage, they pass through Congress the Federal amendment and also support suffrage legislation in the States. The Association also urged the passage by Congress and the States of thorough and comprehensive corrupt practice acts.

Not the least interesting part of the convention was the evening sessions. Wednesday night a brilliant reception was held at the Marlborough-Blenheim. Thursday night was "Dixie Evening," with Mrs. B. J. Cunningham, Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith, Mrs. Eugene Reilley, Mrs. Edward McGehee, Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine, Mrs. Guilford Dudley, and Mrs. T. T. Cotnam as speakers.

Friday night's great meeting, at which President Wilson spoke, is told of in another column.

Saturday night, Herbert Parsons, Raymond Robins, and Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, were the principal speakers and Sunday the convention was brought to a rousing close by Mrs. David Simpson, Dr. Effie McCullom Jones and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.

LAST LAUGHS

Irate Father: "It's astonishing, Richard, how much money you need."

Son: "I don't need it, father; it's the hotelkeepers, the tailors and the taxi-cab men."—Tit-Bits.

"How much of an operation did the doctor perform on you?"

"Oh, he took out a couple of thousand dollars' worth of my insides."—Life.

The fisherman had proposed to the shepherdess.

"But how can we live?" wavered the shepherdess.

"Oh, we'll manage to get along by hook or crook," replied the fisherman, optimistically.—Judge.

Peggy was two years younger than Bessie. As is the way with younger sisters, Bessie's outgrown clothes became Peggy's humiliating heritage. One day Bessie made an exciting discovery.

"My goodness!" she said. "I've got a loose tooth. I think I'll pull it out."

"Oh, don't," Peggy implored. "Mother will make me wear it."—London Opinion.

A tramp knocked at a farmer's door and called for something to eat.

"Are you a Christian?" asked the good-hearted country man.

"Can't you tell?" answered the man. "Look at the holes worn in the knees of my pants. What do they prove?"

The farmer's wife promptly brought out the food, and the tramp turned to go.

"Well! well!" asked the farmer. "What made those holes in the back of your pants?"

"Backsliding," replied the tramp as he hurried on.—The Christian Herald.